1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

583 tive, peoples is their love of making gifts; but not less characteristic is their habit of expecting a return. Even the friendliest and most hospitable of transactions are in the nature of a 'square deal', and marriage, whenever it is carried out regularly, is no exception to this rule.

583 581 Regular marriage is not only a contract between individual man and wife, but, economically, is a transaction between two clans. The woman passes into the ownership of her husband's clan. The communal nature of the transaction is evidenced by the fact that the clans as a whole give and receive the bride-price, and further by the fact that, as we shall see, they appear in united force at the ceremony of 583 payment. The position of the widow is in keeping with the 587 same idea. Having entered her former husband's clan she belongs to it after his death and may automatically become the wife of one of his 'brothers'. I have an instance of a son marrying one of his father's widows, and a fairly old one at that. The woman, however, is not in any sense bound, and in the majority of cases that I have noted her second marriage is with an outsider. In such event the payment for the widow (which is much smaller than that for a maid) goes normally to the former husband's people; though very commonly some additional payment is made to the woman's own people, who are thus paid twice for the one woman. I cannot say whether this additional payment is complimentary, or whether it may have some relation to a *bi-dorobu* paid in the first place.

Transfer of the Bride-price

585 The actual taking over of the bride-price, which occurs some time after the union of husband and wife, is, from the clan point of view, the legalizing of that union. There may be some considerable delay. In one case the bride's people were constantly blowing the *hui* to advertise the fact that they were still awaiting payment and to expedite a settlement by putting the bridegroom's village to shame.

[583] When the *dorobu*—which includes a great quantity of food—has been got together, the supporting clans of the husband's people are invited to the village. Here they will

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

him, the dance swept into the village, while the solemn *gorukari* procession went steadily on. In this case the *doru* were helped on to a house verandah, and the younger girls in the procession turned hastily to join in the more animated and attractive entertainment of the dance. Throughout the rest of the day, which witnessed a dance, a dramatic performance, and a feast, the *doru* (of whom there were three) sat on the house verandah without as much as raising their heads to see what was going on.

After this ceremonial emergence the seclusion of the *doru* is over. She continues to wear the *baja*, but may come and go at her ordinary work. She is free to marry again, and marriage may take place before the later ceremony in which the *baja* is discarded. It is said that the halting gait of the widow and her clinging for support upon her neighbour are due to the weakness of her legs after long seclusion; though if we feel inclined to accept such an explanation it must be merely symbolic. The gradual assumption of an upright gait, however, marks in some manner the caution which the native regards as essential in all transition stages. The hiding of the *doru's* face is again attributed to the *meh*, or shame, which was said to be the reason of seclusion in general.

I was assured that among the southern tribes, who practise seclusion of the widower, there was no ceremonial emergence: the widower's legs were supposed to stand the strain of inactivity and he walked out of his seclusion unassisted. But this cannot be altogether correct, for Mr. Wurth has described, in reference to the Eroro district, a solemn procession in single file, each individual resting his hands on the shoulders of the person in front of him, and the widower wearing the mourning jacket of Job's Tears—in fact a ceremonial that corresponds in all essentials to the emergence of the widow.

Signs and Observances of Mourning

The widow continues to wear her jacket of *baja* (*vide* p. 217), and among the coastal people she smears her face and limbs with mud, which dries white and gives her a sufficiently ghastly appearance. (I have not noted in detail